

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ARA-06 SIL-01 LAB-04 /087 W

----- 035028

R 191317Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8826

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 0740

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, UR, XH

SUBJ: TIMOFEYEV AND WORKING CLASS GROWTH: A GESTURE TO THE PCF?

1. SUMMARY. IN MAJOR THEORETICAL ARTICLE ON WORKING

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CLASS GROWTH AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN JAN 17 PRAVDA,

T.T. TIMOFEYEV REBUTS RIGHTISTS WHO CLAIM WORKERS AND MANAGERS ARE IDENTICAL AND LEFTISTS WHO INCLUDE "RIFFRAFF" IN PROLETARIAT, AND CLAIMS "INTELLECTUALIZATION OF LABOR" IS KEY TREND OF CURRENT PERIOD. TO THE EXTENT HIS ARGUMENT TOUCHES ON DEBATE OVER REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS IN WEST, TIMOFEYEV COMES DOWN ON SIDE OF ZAGLADIN "SOFT LINE," BUT HIS ARTICLE MAY BE ADDRESSED MAINLY TO RUMORED INTENTION OF PCF TO EXPAND DEFINITION OF PROLETARIAT AT FEBRUARY PARTY CONGRESS. IF SO, TIMOFEYEV APPEARS TO SIGNAL THAT CPSU DOES NOT WISH TO HASSLE FRENCH ON THIS ISSUE, AT A TIME WHEN MORE SERIOUS PROBLEMS ARE ON THE TABLE BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES. END SUMMARY. END CONFIDENTIAL

2. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. WRITING AS A CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (AND NOT IN HIS CAPACITY AS DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT), T.T. TIMOFEYEV ADDRESSES "THE GROWTH OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY IDOLOGICAL STRUGGLE" IN LENGTHY PRAVDA COMMENTARY JAN 17.

3. INTRODUCTION NOTES ACTIVIZATION OF WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, GROWTH OF ITS MAIN FORCE-- "THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS, THE WORLD SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM",-- THE OBJECTIVE NECESSITY OF INCREASED INFLUENCE FOR WORKING CLASS "AND ITS COMMUNIST AVANTGARDE", AND FACT THAT MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHING ON THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS IS CONSEQUENTLY AT THE CENTER OF THE IDOLOGICAL-THEORETICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM AND ITS OPPONENTS.

4. FIRST PART IS DEVOTED TO DEMONSTRATION OF GROWTH OF WORKING CLASS AND TO INCORRECT INTERPRETATIONS OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE. FOR DEMONSTRATION, TIMOFEYEV RESORTS TO FIGURES DEVELOPED BY HIS INSTITUTE, TO EFFECT THAT WORKING CLASS NUMBERS HAVE GROWN FROM LESS THAN 10 MILLION IN MID-19TH CENTUREY TO 30 MILLION AT BEGINNING OF 20TH TO OVER 600 MILLION TODAY, WITH FOLLOWING BREAKDOWN: 160 IN "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES, CONFIDENTIAL

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105 IN WESTERN EUROPE, 110 IN NORTH AMERICA, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, 50 IN LATIN AMERICA, AND 120 IN "AFRO-ASIAN STATES," PRESUMABLY INCLUDING CHINA. FOR INTERPRETATION, MAJOR POINT IS "BASIC DISTINCTION"WHICH "SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM" MAKES BETWEEN PROCESSES LEADING TO GROWTH OF WORKING CLASS INSIDE "SOCIALIST"COUNTRIES, WHERE IT IS WELL OFF, AND OUTSIDE, WHERE SHARPENING CRISIS SWELLS ITS RANKS

WITH PROLETARIZED SMALL AND MEDIUM PROPERTY OWNERS IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND WITH "TRANSITIONAL AND LUMPEN ELEMENTS" IN THE THIRD WORLD. HE REJECTS BOTH THEORY OF "LIBERAL BOURGEOIS AND RIGHT OPPORTUNIST" IDEOLOGUES WHO CLAIM WORKERS AND MANAGERS ARE IDENTICAL AND THEORY OF "LEFT REVOLUTIONARIES AND MAOISTS" WHICH COUNTS DECLASSE AND LUMPEN ELEMENTS IN WORKING CLASS. REAL ANALYSIS, HE SAYS, REQUIRES SCIENTIFIC, COMPLEX APPROACH TO PROCESSES BASED ON DIALECTICAL-MATERIALIST METHODOLOGY.

5. SECOND PART CLAIMS TO APPLY SUCH AN APPROACH, BUT ALSO DEVOTES MOST OF ITS SPACE TO REBUTTING SELECTED OPPONENTS, WITH DANIEL BELL AND RAYMOND ARON NAMED. MAJOR OFFENDERS ARE THOSE WHO DEFINE WORKERS PURELY AS PHYSICAL LABORERS IN FACTORIES AND POINT TO RELATIVE DECLINE AS PROOF THAT WORKING CLASS ITSELF IS DISSAPPEARING; THOSE WHOSE ANALYSIS SHOWS PERSISTENCE OF CLASS DISTINCITIONS AND EVEN "ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS" IN DEVELOPED "SOCIALIST" SOCIETIES; THOSE WHO CLAIM TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS IS RUBBING OUT OLD DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN CLASSES; AND THOSE WHO PROCLAIM END OF IDOLOGY. MAIN REBUTTAL ARGUMENT, SPRINKLED WITH QUOTES FROM MARX, ENGELS AND BREZHNEV, IS THAT LABOR BECOMES MORE INTELLECTUALIZED AS IT BECOMES PROGRESSIVELY SOCIALIZED, THAT INCREASING ACCESS OF SOVIET WORKING CLASS TO CULTURE PROVES THIS SPLENDIDLY, AND THAT THIS PROCESS INCREASES RATHER THAN DECREASES WORKING CLASS' INFLUENCE ON THE WORLD SCALE.

6. CONCLUSION RETURNS TO OPENING GUN, WHICH IS THAT "REMARKABLE FEATURE OF OUR TIMES" IS STRENGTHENING OF LEADING ROLE OF WORKING CLASS' REVOLUTIONARY AVANTGARDE, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES, AND OF INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF USSR AND OTHER "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES. END UNCLASSIFIED.

7. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. COMMENT. BLURRING THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT AND THE SOVIET STATE, CLAIMING THAT THE WORKING CLASS IN COMMUNIST STATES IS UNADULTERATED, AND BANISHING CHINESE FROM "SOCIALIST" TO "AFRO-ASIAN" CATEGORY: ALL COME NATURALLY TO A SOVIET SCHOLAR, AND ARE PRACTICALLY OBLIGATORY IN PRE-CONGRESS PERIOD HERE. MORE INTERESTING QUESTIONS CONCERN RELATIONSHIP OF TIMOFEYEV'S ARGUMENT TO DEBATE OVER COMMUNIST TACTICS IN WESTERN EUROPE AND CURRENT STATUS OF ECPC PREPARATIONS.

8. ASSUMING THAT THERE IS A USEFUL DISTINCTION TO BE MADE BETWEEN ZARODOV "TOUGH LINE" AND ZAGLADIN "SOFT LINE" ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS IN THE WEST, AS MANY WEST EUROPEANS DO, TO THE EXTENT HE ADDRESSES THE ISSUES TIMOFEYEV COMES DOWN ON THE SIDE OF ZAGLADIN. ZAGLADIN'S ARTICLES IN THE OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY STRESSES THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROCESSES INVOLVED AND IMPLIED THAT IT IS UNWISE TO FORCE THE PACE OF HISTORY BY IGNORING OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS FOR REVOLUTION, WHICH IN ANY CASE RIPEN MORE NATURALLY IN BACKWARD AREAS. TIMOFEYEV, WHOSE MAJOR ARTICLE IN THE AUGUST INTERNATIONAL LIFE ON THE WORLD AFTER CSCE ALSO STRUCK CAREFULLY TO THE SOVIETS' FAVORITE MIDDLE ROAD BETWEEN "RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS" AND "LEFTISTS AND MAOISTS", ALSO PAINTS A PICTURE IN WHICH IT IS HARD TO FIND ANY "OBJECTIVE" REASON FOR REVOLUTIONARY TAKOVERS IN DEVELOPED WESTERN COUNTRIES.

9. IT SEEMS TO US HIS STRESS ON THE "INTELLECTUALIZATION OF LABOR" MAY RELATE DIRECTLY THE FRENCH PARTY'S REPORTED INTENTION TO EXPAND ITS THEORETICAL CONSTITUENCY BEYOND THE PROLETARIAT ALONE, AT THE UPCOMING PARTY CONGRESS. IT IS UNCLEAR TO US WHETHER FRENCH WISH TO DROP DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AS A GOAL, AS PORTUGUESE DID, OR TO STRETCH DEFINITION OF WORKING CLASS TO INCLUDE WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS.  
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EITHER CASE WOULD INVOLVE MAJOR THEORETICAL POINT PREGNANT WITH FURTHER TENSION BETWEEN PCF AND CPSU. IT THUS SEEMS TO US THAT SOVIETS MAY BE USING TIMOFEYEV TO ANNOUNCE CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE, OR AT LEAST UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE AN ISSUE AT A TIME WHEN MORE SERIOUS ISSUES, IN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND IN ECPC PREPARATIONS, ARE ON THE TABLE. END COMMENT.  
END CONFIDENTIAL.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, LABOR RELATIONS, COMMUNISM  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 JAN 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976MOSCOW00740  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760019-0981  
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**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760144/aaaabnfb.tel  
**Line Count:** 210  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 24 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <25 MAR 2004 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** TIMOFEYEV AND WORKING CLASS GROWTH: A GESTURE TO THE PCF?  
**TAGS:** PFOR, FR, UR, XH  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006